

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04232 061040Z

20-L

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3531

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4232

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: SLIGHT STIRRINGS ON FOLLOW-UP

REF: A) GENEVA 3801; B) GENEVA 3542; C) GENEVA 3499

1. SUMMARY: THE EC-NINE ARE WORKING ON AMODEST REVISION OF THE DANISH FOLLOW-UP TEXT TO APPEASE THE NEUTRALS WHILE HINTS EMERGE AS TO THE PROBABLE SOVIET FOLLOW-UP POSITION. ALLIES STILL LACK CLEARLY COORDINATED TACTICAL APPROACH TO UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS FIELD. END SUMMARY.

2. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE THE ADDITIONAL NEGOTIATING MARGINS ON FOLLOW-UP AUTHORIZED BY THE EC-NINE MINISTERS AT THEIR MOST RECENT DUBLIN MEETING WERE SLENDER (USNATO 2080). THE NINE HAVE NOW NEVERTHELESS STARTED TO WLRK ON A SLIGHTLY REVISED VERSION OF THE DANISH FOLLOW-UP PROPOSAL, PRIMARILY TO TRY TO HEAD OFF TABLING OF THE NEUTRAL DRAFT (REFTEL A) AND TO GAIN SOME NEUTRAL SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY AMONG SCANDINAVIANS, FOR THE WESTERN FOLLOW-UP

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04232 061040Z

POSITION. THE FRENCH, WHO HAVE FOUGHT HARDEST HERE AND

AT DUBLIN TO BLOCK THE NEUTRAL DRAFT (AS WELL AS TO LIMIT THE NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY OF THE NINE) HAVE NOW JOINED IN THIS EFFORT. WHILE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NINE HAVE SO FAR PREVENTED QUICK AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY AS TO THE TIMING OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING, THE HEADS OF DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE MAY RESOLVE THIS ISSUE JUNE 6, AND MAY THEN PRESENT THEIR REVISED DRAFT TO THE NATO CAUCUS NEXT WEEK.

3. WE WILL, OF COURSE, SUBMIT THE REVISED DANISH TEXT AS SOON AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE TRANSMITTING FOR THE DEPARTMENTS INTERIM CONSIDERATION BY SEPTTEL THE FIRST DRAFT OF THIS REWRITING EXERCISE WHICH IS THE BASIS OF THE EC-NINE DISCUSSION AND PROBABLY FORESHADOWS THE FINAL VERSION IN MOST SUBSTANTIVE RESPECTS.

4. THE PRINCIPAL CHANGE MADE FROM THE EXISTING OFFICIAL DANISH TEXT IS THE ADDITION OF A PARAGRAPH PROVIDING FOR ONE PREPARATORY MEETING SLIGHTLY BEFORE THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING, A CHANGE WHICH REFLECTS THE DECISION TO THIS EFFECT REACHED BY THE EC-NINE MINISTERS IN DUBLIN. THE DRAFT DOES NOT MAKE ANY SIGNIFICANT CONCESSION TO THE OTHER MAJOR PRINCIPLE OF "PERIODICITY" URGED BY THE NEUTRALS, WHETHER SUCH REVISED DANISH TEXT WOULD THEREFORE SATISFY OR EVEN MOLLIFY NEUTRALS REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

5. IN OUR VIEW, A REVISED TEXT ALONG THE LINES OF THE REDRAFT WOULD POSE ONLY TWO PROBLEMS FROM THE US VIEW-POINT. FIRST, IT RETAINS THE PHRASE (PARA 2) PROVIDING THAT THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING WOULD--IN ADDITION TO CSCE IMPLEMENTATION--ASSESS THE "STATE OF RELATIONS AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES IN GENERAL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MATTERS DEALT WITH BY THE CONFERENCE." WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH PHRASEOLOGY WOULD MAKE THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP PROCESS TOO OPEN-ENDED AND THEREFORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOVIET EXPLOITATION AND COUNTERACTION OF WESTERN EFFORTS TO HOLD THEM TO THEIR BASKET III COMMITMENTS. (IN THIS CONNECTION SEE PARTICULARLY PARA 7 BELOW). IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS DEPTTEL 092767, MAY 7, 1974
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04232 061040Z

WE HAVE THEREFORE AGAIN REMINDED THE NINE THAT WE HOPE THIS PHRASE CAN BE ELIMINATED BEFORE TABLING IT IN THE WORKING GROUP.

6. WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DRAW THE DEPARTMENT'S ATTENTION TO THE SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN THE TEXT TO ECE AND TO UNESCO, THE TWO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MOST DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO CSCE FOLLOW-UP.

ACTION REQUESTEE: DEPARTMENTS PRELIMINARY REACTION ON ABOVE POINTS WOULD BE HELPFUL.

7. CONSIDERED FROM A BROADER NEGOTIATING PERSPECTIVE, THE FOLLOW-UP SITUATION HERE IS STILL UNCLEAR. THE EC-NINE REALIZE THAT THEIR REVISION OF THE EXISTING DANISH DRAFT WILL AT BEST REMOVE THE THREAT OF TABLING OF THE NEUTRAL TEXT, BUT WILL NOT SATISFY THE WARSAW PACT OR THE FAIRLY SUBSTANTIVE FOLLOW-UP DEMANDS OF SOME, LIKE ROMANIA, WHO DESIRE FREQUENT PREPARATORY AND SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETINGS, MULTIPLE EXPERTS WORKING GROUPS, AND GENERALLY ACTIVE CSCE FOLLOW-UP RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

8. THE SOVIET POSITION ALSO REMAINS A QUESTION. UNTIL NOW, THE PREVAILING WISDOM HAD IT THAT MOSCOW HAD LOST INTEREST IN FOLLOW-UP, PARTICULARLY AS PROGRESS WAS MADE BY THE WEST IN BASKET III. THIS THEORY WAS RATHER SHAKEN, HOWEVER, BY A CONVERSATION WE HAD THIS WEEK WITH A GDR REPRESENTATIVE WHO CLAIMED THAT THE WARSAW PACT COULD, IN PRINCIPLE, ACCEPT THE NEUTRAL PROPOSAL AS A "GLOBAL" NEGOTIATING BASIS, BUT WOULD HAVE TO INTRODUCE AMENDMENTS TO "STRENGTHEN" IT. SPECIFICALLY, HE SAID THE PACT WOULD INSIST THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETINGS WOULD HAVE TO HAVE A "CLEAR CHARTER" TO DISCUSS "ALL POLITICAL ISSUES, RELEVANT TO THE STATE OF DETENTE", NOT JUST CSCE ISSUES; AND THAT THEY WANTED AN UNAMBIGUOUS COMMITMENT THAT ANOTHER FULL-SCALE CSCE CONFERENCE WOULD BE HELD IN A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF YEARS.

9. WE CANNOT DETERMINE AS YET WHETHER THIS CONVERSATION WAS A TRIAL BALLOON OR SHOULD BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE. IN THE LATTER CASE IT WOULD MEAN THAT SOVIETS DO, AFTER CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 04232 061040Z

ALL, INTEND TO PRESS FOR AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP; PRESUMABLY IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THEY CAN DISCOURAGE OR OFFSET THE USEFULNESS OF ANY WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO "HOLD THEIR FEET TO THE FIRE" ON BASKET III ISSUES WITH POINTED INTRUSIONS INTO WESTERN PROBLEMS, WHICH SUCH A BROAD CHARTER WOULD ALLOW THEM. MOREOVER IT WOULD SUGGEST THAT THEY DO WANT TO TRY TO USE THE FOLLOW-UP TO ESTABLISH A POLITICAL ORGANISM THEY CAN USE TO WHATEVER PURPOSE SEEMS DESIRABLE AT ANY GIVEN TIME, INCLUDING SUCH ISSUES AS BERLIN.

10. COMMENT: THE EC-NINE EFFORT TO INTRODUCE NEW FLEXIBILITY INTO THEIR POSITION MAY BE A USEFUL FIRST STEP TO DEFUSE NEUTRAL PRESSURES. HOWEVER, NEITHER THE NINE NOR THE FIFTEEN HAVE SO FAR GIVEN MUCH THOUGHT TO THEIR COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATING APPROACH OR UPPER NEGOTIATING LIMITS

ON FOLLOW-UP, A QUESTION WHICH WILL QUICKLY BECOME IMPORTANT
ONCE WE BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON A TEXT IN THE WORKING GROUP. DALE

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